

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 035818

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TOSEC 379

FOR SISCO

FOLLOWING REPEAT ANKARA 1355 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO ATHENS,
NICOSIA, NATO & USIA WASHDC DATED 15 FEBRUARY 1975:

QTE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE ANKARA 1355

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, TU, US, CY, GR
SUBJECT: DE BORCHGRAVE'S INTERVIEW WITH ESENBEL

1. NEWSWEEK'S ARNAUD DE BORCHGRAVE HAS MADE AVAILABLE TO
US A COPY OF HIS INTERVIEW OF FEBRUARY 13 WITH FOREIGN MINISTER
ESENBEL, EMBARGOED TILL PUBLICATION EARLY NEXT WEEK, POSSIBLY
IN A SHORTENED VERSION.

2. DE BORCHGRAVE TOOK HIS ORIGINAL ACCOUNT TODAY TO FOREIGN
MINISTER ESENBEL FOR EDITORIAL CHANGES. THE TEXT BELOW RE-
FLECTS THESE CHANGES. WHERE THERE ARE CHANGES, WE HAVE
PROVIDED THE ORIGINAL TEXT IN PARENTHESES.

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PAGE 02 STATE 035818

3. THE DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO HAVE THE FULL TEXT OF THE
INTERVIEW INSERTED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, IN ITS
CORRECTED FORM, I.E., WITH THE ITEMS IN PARENTHESES REMOVED.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). WHAT LED MR. KISSINGER TO BELIEVE THERE WOULD BE PROGRESS TOWARD A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT BY FEBRUARY 5, THE CONGRESSIONAL DEADLINE FOR CUTTING OFF ALL MILITARY AID TO TURKEY?

A. (ESENBEL). GREECE AND TURKEY HAD AGREED WITH KISSINGER IN BRUSSELS LAST DECEMBER THAT TALKS SHOULD START BETWEEN THE TWO CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES WITH A LIMITED AGENDA--FIRST FOR THE REOPENING OF NICOSIA AIRPORT, THEN THE PORT OF FAMAGUSTA AND FINALLY ON THE FUTURE OF A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT FOR A NEW CYPRIOT FEDERATION. (WE) THEY WERE TO TEST (OUR) THEIR GOOD INTENTIONS ON SMALLER MATTERS BEFORE MOVING ON TO BIGGER THINGS. THE TURKISH MILITARY BEGAN BY WITHDRAWING ONE THOUSAND TROOPS. THEN DENKTASH AGREED TO THE RETURN OF 8,000 GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES, TO BE FOLLOWED BY ANOTHER 5,000. (WE) HE MADE A COMPROMISE OFFER ON THE AIRPORT. KISSINGER KNEW THE SCENARIO FOR PROGRESS TO WHICH ALL PARTIES HAD AGREED.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). SO WHAT WENT WRONG?

A. (ESENBEL). THE MINUTE THE GREEKS REALIZED THERE WAS A SERIOUS DEADLINE FOR A U.S. ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY, ATHENS LOST INTEREST IN PROGRESS. IMPORTANT THIRD PARTIES INFORMED US THAT EVEN IF (WE) DENKTASH HAD OFFERED NICOSIA AIRPORT TO THE OTHER SIDE FREE WITHOUT ANY CONDITIONS, THEY WOULD NOT HAVE TAKEN IT BECAUSE YOUR CONGRESS WOULD THEN HAVE CONCLUDED THERE WAS PROGRESS AND MILITARY AID WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN CUT OFF. IN OTHER WORDS, ATHENS WANTED THE BAN TO GO INTO EFFECT, THINKING WE WOULD THEN CAVE IN.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). AND HOW HAS THE EMBARGO COMPROMISED NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE CYPRUS SETTLEMENT IT WAS SUPPOSEDLY DESIGNED TO PROMOTE?

A. (ESENBEL). BY HARDENING THE TURKISH POSITION. THE TURKS ARE VERY PROUD PEOPLE. THIS KIND OF PRESSURE FROM A FRIEND AND ALLY IS TANTAMOUNT TO BETRAYAL AND STIFFENS OUR RESISTANCE.
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PAGE 03 STATE 035818

(WITNESS THE DECISION TO CREATE A FEDERATED TURKISH CYPRIOT STATE--NOW AN IRREVOCABLE DECISION.) AND NOW A FEDERATED TURKISH CYPRIOT STATE HAS BEEN CREATED. THIS IS NOW AN IRREVOCABLE DECISION.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). TURKEY HAS SAID THAT IT IS NOW RECONSIDERING ITS PLACE IN NATO. WHAT DOES THIS MEAN? WILL YOU ASK THE U.S. TO ABANDON MOST OR ALL OF THE TWENTY-FIVE BASES IT MAINTAINS IN TURKEY IF AID ISN'T RESTORED?

A. (ESENBEL). FIRST, LET ME SAY THAT YOUR AID IS NO FAVOR TO TURKEY. FOR 140 MILLION DOLLARS-HALF IN GRANTS, HALF IN CREDITS,

AND A PALTRY SUM BY PRESENT DAY STANDARDS--THE U.S. AND NATO ARE GETTING ONE OF THE BEST SECURITY BARGAINS IN THE WORLD. YOU HAVE MUCH MORE TO LOSE THAN WE TURKS. APART FROM "ALLIED LAND FORCES, SOUTHEASTER EUROPE" AND THE "SIXTH ALLIED TACTICAL AIR," TURKEY CONTROLS THE VITAL DARDANELLES EXIT FROM THE BLACK SEA AND HAS PERMITTED THE INSTALLATION OF 20 AMERICAN EARLY WARNING, LISTENING AND TRACKING STATIONS NEAR THE BLACK SEA COAST AND IN EASTERN TURKEY. THEY COLLECT INFORMATION ON THE SOUTHERN HALF OF THE USSR AND THE ENTIRE MIDEAST AREA. YOUR OWN PEOPLE SAY IT'S ALL OF "INESTIMABLE" VALUE. EITHER SOME OF YOUR CONGRESS-MEN WERE NOT PROPERLY BRIEFED OR THEN THEY HAVE DONE SOMETHING IRRESPONSIBLE THAT HAS JEOPARDIZED THE DEFENSEPOSTURE OF THE ENTIRE WESTERN ALLIANCE.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). WHAT ARE SOME OF THE MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS THESE LISTENING INSTALLATIONS HAVE MADE TO THE U.S. IN PARTICULAR AND TO THE ALLIANCE IN GENERAL? IS IT TRUE THAT THEY ONCE SPOTTED THE REDEPLOYMENT OF NO LESS THAN 15 SOVIET DIVISIONS?

A. (ESENBEL). I WOULD RATHER NOT GO INTO SPECIFIC DETAILS BUT SUFFICE IT TO SAY THESE CONTRIBUTIONS WERE INVALUABLE--AND CONTINUE TO BE.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). TURKEY HAS SAID THERE IS NO NEED TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE ENFORCEMENT OF BILATERAL DEFENSE AGREEMENTS? WHAT IS THE PRECISE NATURE OF THESE AGREEMENTS AND WHAT WAS BEING NEGOTIATED?

A. (ESENBEL). AS A CLOSE FRIEND AND ALLY, WE TOLD YOU "MY HOUSE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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PAGE 04 STATE 035818

"IS YOUR HOME" (AND YOU SET UP SHOP AND THESE SO-CALLED JOINT DEFENSE FACILITIES WERE SET UP WITHOUT PRECISE TERMS OF REFERENCE AND JOINT CONTROL STIPULATIONS.NOW ("NOW" ADDED TO ORIGINAL TEXT) THERE IS NO USE IN PERFECTING THIS SYSTEM WHEN THE VERY BASIS OF OUR RELATIONSHIP HAS BEEN DISRUPTED. OUR MILITARY (GOVERNMENT) ARE NOW GETTING READY FOR THE NEXT RETALIATORY STEP AGAINST THESE JOINT FACILITIES. A LIST OF STEPS IS BEING DRAFTED ON A GRADUATED SCALE. THIS IS NO BLUFF, BELIEVE ME.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). DO YOU WANT TO GIVE CONGRESS TIME TO THINK AGAIN BEFORE RETALIATING?

A. (ESENBEL). WE ARE NOT INTERESTED IN AID PROGRAMS THAT ARE BASED ONPROMISSORY NOTES THAT HAVE EXPIRATION DEADLINES AND WHICH SAY THAT IF YOU DON'T DO THUS AND SO AT THE END OF A CERTAIN TIME WE WILL BE CUT OFF WITHOUT ANY MILITARY AID. OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S.IS VERY IMPORTANT AND AID IS A KEY PARTY OF IT. WE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN GOOD AND LOYAL FRIENDS. BUT IF YOU WANT A RELATIONSHIPBASED ON THE NEW RULES CONGRESS HAS WRITTEN, THEY WE WOULD RATHER END IT.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). HOW MUCH TIME BEFORE TURKISH RETALIATION?

A. (ESENBEL). THE PRESSURE FROM POLITICAL PARTIES AND PUBLIC OPINION IS MOUNTING DAILY. THE MAN-IN-THE-STREET FEELS SO (INSULTED) INJURED IN HIS FEELINGS THAT HE IS LOSING CONFIDENCE IN THE U.S. COMMITMENT . IMPORTANT PEOPLE ARE THINKING OF DAYS AND ARE CRITICIZING OTHERS FOR THINKING OF WEEKS. TIME IS RUNNING OUT--AND THE TIME FOR ACTION IS FAST APPROACHING.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). WILL YOU BEGIN BY ASKING THE U.S. AID MISSION TO LEAVE (JUSMATT--JOINT U.S. MILITARY ADVISORY TEAM TO TURKEY)? (PARENTHESES PART OF ORIGINAL TEXT.)

A. (ESENBEL). THAT WILL BE PART OF IT, BUT THERE WILL ALSO BE ACTION ON CLOSING DOWN ("CLOSING DOWN" ADDED TO ORIGINAL TEXT.) JLINT FACILITIES. JUSMATT IS ONLY IN TURKEY TO ADMINISTER MILITARY AID. IF THERE IS NO AID PROGRAM, THERE IS NO REASON FOR JUSMATT'S PRESENCE.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). FORMER PRIME MINISTER BULENT ECEVIT-- LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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PAGE 05 STATE 035818

WHO ORDERED THE TURKISH INVASION OF CYPRUS LAST JULY--SAYS TURKEY SHOULD NOT RELY ON U.S. FOREIGN AID ANY LONGER. WHAT ALTERNATIVE FOREIGN POLICY OPTIONS DOES TURKEY REALLY HAVE?

A. (ESENBEL). (THIS PARTICULAR GOVERNMENT WILL NEVER TAKE THE DECISION TO LEAVE NATO.) WE ARE NOT NOW CONSIDERING THE OPTION OF LEAVING NATO. WE WILL BE REACTING ON A BILATERAL LEVEL. AND OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. IS IN GRAVE JEOPARDY. NO AMOUNT OF AID WILL HEAL THE WOUNDS THAT HAVE BEEN INFILCTED BY YOUR CONGRESS. AND WHEN OTHER GOVERNMENTS REALIZE THAT CONGRESS CAN NOW OVERRULE BASIC FOREIGN POLICY COMMITMENTS MADE BY YOUR GOVERMENT, THE ENTIRE FABRIC OF THE ALLIANCE CAN FALL APART.

Q. (DEBORCHGRAVE). THERE IS SPECULATION OF A POSSIBLE REALIGNMENT OF ISLAMIC TURKEY WITH THE OIL-PRODUCERS OF THE MIDEAST. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE RECENT VISIT OF LIBYA'S P.M. JALLOUD AND PLEDGES OF LIBYAN AID WERE DULY NOTED. IS THIS REALLY A VIABLE ALTERNATIVE?

A. (ESENBEL). WE ARE NOW VERY CLOSE TO LIBYA. THEY ARE SENDING OFFICERS TO US FOR TRAINING. AND WE ARE CLOSE TO IRAQ, TOO. WE MAKE NO DISTINCTION BETWEEN SOCIALIST AND CONSERVATIVE REGIMES IN THE ARAB WORLD BECAUSE WE (NEED)THEIR HELP) FEEL CLOSE TO ALL OF THEM. BUT RAPPROCHEMEENT WITH THE ARABS (IS NOT A VIABLE ALTERNATIVE TO NATO) DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE ARE LOOKING FOR AN ALTERNATIVE TO NATO.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). BUT NATO AND THE U.S. ARE VIRTUALLY
SYNONYMOUS.

A. (ESENBEL). (WE ALSO ENJOYED A VERY SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP
WITH AMERICA. THIS COULD GO DOWN THE DRAIN WITHOUT ENDANGERING
OUR MEMBERSHIP IN NATO. IN FACT, NATO SECRETARY GENERAL
JOSEPH LUNS HIMSELF PRESIDED OVER THE ALLIANCE'S MILITARY
COMMITTEE THE OTHER DAY--A VERY UNUSUAL STEP--TO EXAMINE THE
CONSEQUENCES OF CONGRESS' DECISION. THEY CONCLUDED CONGRESS
HAD WEAKENED NATO AND ARE NOW TRYING TO FILL THE GAP CREATED
BY THE LOSS OF U.S. AID TO TURKEY.) IN ADDITION TO NATO, WE
ALSO ENJOYED A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH AMERICA. THIS HAS
BEEN GRAVELY DAMAGED. IT WEAKENS NATO BUT DOES NOT ENDANGER
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PAGE 06 STATE 035818

OUR MEMBERSHIP IN THE ALLIANCE. IN FACT, NATO SECRETARY
GENERAL JOSEPH LUNS HIMSELF PRESIDED OVER THE ALLIANCE'S
MILITARY COMMITTEE THE OTHER DAY-- A VERY UNUSUAL STEP--TO
EXAMINE THE CONSEQUENCES OF CONGRESS' DECISION. THEY CONCLUDED
CONGRESS HAD WEAKENED NATO AND NATO IS NOW DEEPLY CONCERNED
WITH THE GAP IN ITS DEFENSES CAUSED BY CONGRESSIONAL ACTION.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). DOES A NON-AGGRESSION PACT WITH THE SOVIET
UNION, SUGGESTED BY PODGORNY IN 1972 BUT REJECTED BY TURKEY AT
THE TIME, SEEM MORE TEMPTING TODAY?

A. (ESENBEL). IT IS NOT ON OUR AGENDA.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). HOW DO YOU READ SOVIET POLICY IN THIS
DISPUTE?

A. (ESENBEL). THEY HAVE SENT US A NEW AMBASSADOR AND ARE
BEING VERY FRIENDLY. RELATIONS ARE MOVING AHEAD SMOOTHLY.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). THERE ARE MANY THINGS THE WORLD DOESN'T
UNDERSTAND ABOUT CYPRUS. MANY PEOPLE THOUGHT YOU OVERREACTIONED
LAST SUMMER BY INVADING CYPRUS AND THAT SINCE THEN TURKEY HAS
SHOWN ITSELF A LITTLE TOO GREEDY. U.S. ARMS, THEY SAY, WERE
NOT SUPPLIED FOR TERRITORIAL EXPANSION. WHY, FOR EXAMPLE, DID
YOU OCCUPY ALMOST FORTY PER CENT OF THE LAND WHEN YOU ONLY
HAVE 18 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION AND MAKE 180,000 GREEK
REFUGEES HOMELESS?

A. (ESENBEL). YOU SEEM TO FORGET THIS WAS THE GREEKS' THIRD
ATTEMPT TO IMPLEMENT THEIR PLANS FOR ENOSIS (UNION WITH GREECE).
(PARENTHETICAL CLAUSE IN ORIGINAL TEXT.) THEY HAD TRIED THE
SAME THING IN 1963 AND 67 (WHEN WE GOT 10,000
GREEK SOLDIERS WHO WERE THERE ILLEGALLY TO WITHDRAW BACK TO
WHENCE THEY HAD COME). 1974 WAS THE THIRD TRY AND THE OBJECTIVE
WAS THE ANNEXATION OF THE ENTIRE ISLAND TO GREECE. WHEN WE
MOVED INTO THE NICOSIA AREA, OUR TROOPS CAPTURED DOCUMENTS THAT

INDICATED

A CAMPAIGN OF TERROR WAS PLANNED AGAINST TURKISH CYPRIOTS TO FORCE THEIR SUBSERVIENCE. SO WE DIDN'T OVERREACT. (ON THE TWO PREVIOUS OCCASIONS, WE DIDN'T REACT BECAUSE OUR PEOPLE STILL BELIEVED IN THE TREATY OF GUARANTEE. (THIS SENTENCE DELETED
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PAGE 07 STATE 035818

FROM ORIGINAL TEXT.) THIS TIME THEY SAME A THUG AND A HIRED GUN--NIKOS SAMPSON--WHO STOOD FOR ENOSIS TAKE OVER AS PRESIDENT OF CYPRUS. AND U.S. POLICY WAS JUST TO HAVE TALKS AND MORE TALKS, AS IT HAD BEEN FOR THE LAST SEVEN YEARS. SO WE HAD TO ACT FORCEFULLY. WE DID IT VERY RELUCTANTLY, I CAN ASSURE YOU.

Q. (DE BORCHGRACE). BUT WAS IT NECESSARY TO TAKE OVER FORTY PER CENT OF THE ISLAND?

A. (ESENBEL). SAY THIRTY-EIGHT PERCENT. OUR MILITARY REQUIRED THIS MUCH FOR THE SECURITY OF THEIR OPERATION. BUT ECEVIT SAID SEVERAL TIMES THAT THE LINE IS NEGOTIABLE. IT'S NOT THERE FOR GOOD.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). HOW MUCH LAND ARE YOU PREPARED TO RELINQUISH IN RETURN FOR GREEK ACCEPTANCE OF AN INDEPENDENT TURKISH CYPRIOT STATE UNDER A JOINT CONFEDERATION?

A. (ESENBEL). AT THE TIME FOF THE ZURICH ACCORDS, ABOUT FORTY PERCENT OF THE LAND OWNERSHIP WAS IN TURKISH CYPRIOT HANDS. SOME WERE FORCED TO SELL AND OTHERS WERE PUSHED OUT BY MAKARIOS. SO A FAIR FIGURE FOR THE FUTURE WOULD BE BETWEEN THIRTY-FIVE (THIRTY) AND FORTY PERCENT.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). HOW WILL DISPLACED GREEK PEASANTS LIVE IF THEY DON'T HAVE ANY LAND?

A. (ESENBEL). THE GREEKS HAVE THE MINES, INDUSTRY, TOURISM AND CAN CREATE NEW EMPLOYMENT.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). WHY CAN'T TURK AND GREEK CYPRIOTS BE FREE TO MOVE AND LIVE ON EITHER SIDE PENDING A FINAL SETTLEMENT? WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN TO 180,000 GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES? WHY CAN'T THEY GO HOME? ARE THEY NOW LIKE THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEES WHO LEFT OR WERE FORCED OUT WHEN ISRAEL WAS CREATED?

A. (ESENBEL). SOME HAVE OCCUPIED HOMES LEFT BY THE TURKS AND OTHERS HAVE BEEN TAKEN INTO GREEK HOMES. WE MUST THINK IN TERMS OF TWO SEPARATE ZONES WHERE POPULATIONS WILL BE REGROUPED. THERE WERE 38,000 TURKS LIVING ON THE GREEK SIDE WHEN THE CEASEFIRE WENT INTO EFFECT LAST SUMMER. NOW THERE ARE ONLY
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PAGE 08 STATE 035818

6,000 TO 7,000 LEFT. THEY ARE GIVING UP THEIR HOMES AND LANDS TO LIE ON THE TURKISH SIDE. YOU CANNOT EXPECT 180,000 GREEKS TO GO BACK TO THE TURKISH SIDE. THE TURKS MUST BE IN THE MAJORITY IN THEIR OWN ZONE. IF ALL THE GREEKS CAME BACK, THE TURKS WOULD ONCE AGAIN BE IN THE MINORITY, DEFEATING (THE WHOLE PURPOSE OF) OBJECTIVE OF THE INTERVENTION. WHEN THE FEDERATION IS FINALLY SET UP, THERE WILL BE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT FOR EVERYONE.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). BUT NOT FREEDOM TO SETTLE?

A. (ESENBEL). THAT WOULD JEOPARDIZE THE WHOLE SYSTEM.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). WHY DO YOU FEEL NICOSIA AIRPORT, CLOSED SINCE LAST JULY, SHOULD BE MANAGED JOINTLY BY TURKS AND GREEKS WHEN IT WORKED VERY WELL FOR YEARS WITHOUT THE TURKS?

A. (ESENBEL). IF THEY HAVE A JOINT FEDERAL VENTURE, THEN ALL ACTIVITIES OF COMMON INTEREST SHOULD BE RUN JOINTLY. IT MUST BE A FEDERAL AIRPORT SERVING BOTH COMMUNITIES.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). WHAT POWERS DO YOU THINK A CENTRAL CYPRIOT GOVERNMENT SHOULD HAVE?

A. (ESENBEL). DENKTASH WILL SOON MAKE PROPOSALS ON AN INDEPENDENT FEDERAL STATE BASED ON GEOGRAPHICAL SEPARATION OF THE TWO ZONES. FOREIGN RELATIONS WILL BELONG TO THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY. (WE) THEY WILL NEED A FEDERAL PARLIAMENT AND JUDICIARY (AND JOINT CUSTOMS PERHAPS). IN ADDITION TO LOCAL PARLIAMENTS AND LOCAL JUDICIARIES.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). AFTER THE CYPRUS CONFLICT--OR PERHAPS EVEN BEFORE IT IS RESOLVED--THE WORLD WILL BE FACED WITH THE GREEK-TURKISH DISPUTE OVER THE AEGEAN SEA, EVERYTHING FROM OIL RIGHTS TO AIR SPACE. ATHENS NOW EXERCISES AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL UP TO THREE MILES FROM YOUR AEGEAN COASTLINE AND REFUSES TO CLEAR AIR CRAFT DIRECTLY INTO TURKISH AIR SPACE, THUS NECESSITATING LONG DETOURS. ISN'T THIS POTENTIALLY MORE EXPLOSIVE THAN THE CYPRUS ISSUE?

A. (ESENBEL). VERY EXPLOSIVE. WE HAVE TOLD THE GREEKS
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PAGE 09 STATE 035818

COMPROMISE IS ESSENTIAL BECAUSE THEY HAVE CUT OUR AIR LANES TO OUR ALLIES, SOME OF WHOM ARE COMPLAINING DIRECTLY TO THE GREEKS. FIR (FLIGHT INFORMATION REGION) (PARENTHESES IN ORIGINAL TEXT.) HAS BEEN UNDER THE GREEKS SINCE 1952. NOW THEY HAVE BLOCKED OUR FLIGHTS.
CIVILIAN TRAFFIC IS REROUTED VIA BULGARIA BUT MILITARY FLIGHTS

FROM ROME, FOR EXAMPLE, HAVE TO DETOUR TOWARD THE COAST OF LIBYA AND EGYPT. THEY MUST GIVE UP PART OF THEIR FIR AND WE MUST EXTEND OUR OWN INTO THE AEGEAN.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). TURKEY SUGGESTED--AND GREECE APPARENTLY AGREED--TO TRANSFER THE AEGEAN OIL RIGHTS DISPUTE TO THE WORLD COURT IN THE HAGUE. DOES THIS MEAN YOU WON'T SEND AN OIL SURVEY SHIP TO THE AREA UNTIL THE WORLD COURT HAS RULED?

A. (ESENBEL). NOT AT ALL. OUR SHIP WILL GO IN REGARDLESS. ITS MISSION WILL BE SCIENTIFIC EXPLORATION. THE WORLD COURT MUST SIMPLY DECIDE WHAT PART OF THE AEGEAN BELONGS TO WHICH COUNTRY AND OUR SHIP WILL NOT PREJUDGE THE ISSUE.

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). IS ONE OF TURKEY'S CONDITIONS FOR A HAGUE RULING THAT GREECE MUST FIRST AGREE TO RECOGNIZE THE CONTINENTAL SHELF OF THE AEGEAN AS AN EXTENSION OF THE ANATOLIAN COASTLINE?

A. (ESENBEL). THAT'S OUR VIEWPOINT AND THESIS. FIRST WE SHOULD MEET AT THE FOREIGN MINISTERS LEVEL AND EXCHANGE POSITIONS. BEFORE WE JOINTLY GO TO THE WORLD COURT, WE ARE OBLIGATED JOINTLY TO SUGGEST TO THE COURT WHAT IT IS WE WANT A RULING ON AND THE CRITERIA FOR REACHING A DECISION. ("AND THE CRITERIA FOR REACHING A DECISION" ADDED TO THE ORIGINAL TEXT.)

Q. (DE BORCHGRAVE). AND IF THERE'S NO AGREEMENT, WHAT HAPPENS NEXT?

A. (ESENBEL). WE WILL GO ON EXPLORING FOR OIL IN WHAT WE CONSIDER OUR PART OF THE AEGEAN. MACOMBER UNQTE INGERSOLL

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